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Contribution to an historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China, principally of Macao; of the Portuguese envoys and ambassadors to China; of the Catholic mission in China; and of the papal legates to China. By A. L. Knt. Macao: China. 1832.*

3. PORTUGUESE ENVOYS AND AMBASSADORS TO CHINA. The Chinese have, in their own estimation, no equals. Their country occupies the principal and central part of the earth's surface; and their emperor is the supreme potentate who rules over all nations. They enumerate, in their imperial books, no less than thirty tributary kingdoms. Portugal is among this number. No sooner were the Portuguese permitted to settle at Macao, than "their vassalage began;" and they were required like the inhabitants of Corea, Cochinchina, Siam, &c., to acknowledge their dependence, by sending envoys and ambassadors with tribute to the sovereigns of China. Several of these missions are mentioned in the work before us; we will briefly notice each of them in their order.

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Thome Pires was the *first* Portuguese envoy to China. He was appointed by the governor of Portuguese India, and instructed to propose to the emperor of China a treaty of commerce. He embarked with Fernao Peres de Andrade; and on his arrival at Canton (1517) he was accommodated, and provided for, in the usual style of foreign ambassadors. The emperor was immediately made acquainted with his arrival and the object of his mission; but he took time to deliberate. A subject of the late Sultan of Malacca was then at Peking, and claimed protection against the Portuguese, who had (in 1511) wrested from his master, a vassal of China, his Capital and dependences. The emperor had requested the Portuguese to restore to the Sultan his sovereignty; but perceiving that the recommendation was slighted, policy suggested the propriety of admitting the Portuguese envoy, and Pires after a lapse of three years, was allowed to proceed from Canton to Peking. But in the mean time, Mohammedans at Canton had disclosed the design of the Portuguese;—“they aim at ruining all foreign shipping, that they alone may carry exports and imports all over the world.” This invidious insinuation gained credit; and in connection with the ill conduct of Simon de Andrade at San-shan, induced the governor of Canton, in a memorial to the emperor, to write—“the Portuguese have no other design than to come under the denomination of merchants to spy the country, that they may hereafter fall over it with fire and sword.”

All this, with the unrelenting diplomatic complaints from the ambassador of the Sultan of Malacca, and frequent reports of the iniquitous proceedings of the Portuguese in India, moved the emperor to appoint a competent tribunal to examine whether the embassy was legitimate or spurious. Pires and his companions were adjudged to be spies, and were sent back prisoners to Canton, there to

be kept in custody. Were Malacca restored, the envoy and his retinue should suffer no harm; but if it were not restored, they should be dealt with according to the law;—"by its tenor, Thome Pires and others suffered death in September 1523."

In this connection, our author remarks with severity on the conduct of other European nations in their early intercourse with the Chinese. He quotes examples of "plunder and piracy," which show that the Chinese have had cause for treating foreigners with distrust, and for excluding them from their country. Other examples are on record which prove "that at the end of three centuries, the boasted European civilization is still unwilling always to respect international laws and right."—This is a topic of thrilling interest to the friends of China. If the conduct of foreigners is characterized by acts of cruelty, oppression, and injustice, its evil consequences will be two fold; they will be felt both by the foreigner and the native,—but chiefly by the latter. In point of morals, the Chinese by their own confession are growing worse and worse; and for aught we can see, this retrogression will continue, and will be increased as it continues, until some counteracting influence comes in from abroad. Let the conduct of foreigners then, in their intercourse with the Chinese, be marked, be *distinctly marked*, by deeds of probity justice and good-will, and great and salutary will be its effects. Wrath can be conquered by kindness; and a proud, selfish, and exclusive spirit, even of the most desperate character, may be subdued by gentleness, kindness, and that charity which "seeketh not her own."

The *second* embassy which we have to notice, was undertaken at the suggestion of Francis Xavier. "The apostle of the East," contemplating the expediency of opening a way for christianity in China by means of an embassy, suggested the

plan to Dm. Alfonso de Noronha; it was approved, and Diogo Pereira was appointed for this mission; he was furnished with suitable presents, which were to be delivered to the emperor in the name of King John III. Xavier embarked with Diogo in this expedition; they left Goa in 1552; but on their arrival at Malacca, their ship was deprived of her rudder by the prefect Alvaro, and the project of proceeding to China was abandoned.

A *third* diplomatic mission was undertaken in 1667. In order to prevent piratical depredations, Kanghe had commanded all his subjects, who were living on the borders of the sea, to remove four or five leagues from the coast, and to suspend all navigation southward. This was in 1662. By the intercession of Schaal, the Portuguese of Macao were exempted from removing to a new place, but navigation remained forbidden. Informed of this state of affairs by the senate of Macao, the viceroy of Goa chose Emmanuel de Saldanha, and sent him in the name of King Alfonso VI, to the court of Peking. The expense of this embassy was 30,365 taels; but the result of it "so little answered the expectations of Macao, that the senate solicited his majesty not to intercede in behalf of his vassals at Macao with the government of China, were it not in an imperious and cogent case."

Such a case, it was thought by the court of Lisbon, had arrived. The disputes of the Roman Catholics about certain ceremonies, (which will be noticed on a subsequent page,) induced Kanghe (1721) to send Antony Magalhaens to King John V, that by the king's mediation he might induce "the Pope to put a stop to the polemic animosity of missionaries, and to grant to the Chinese proselytes permission to practice the established customs of the empire." Yung-ching, shortly after his accession to the throne, forbade in 1723 the exercise of christianity throughout his dominions. "In order to soften this severity, and to calm the

mind of the emperor, his most faithful Majesty sent, as his representative, Alexander Metello de Sousa e Menezes with father Antony Magalhaens to China; they landed at Macao 1726."

A few days before the ambassador set off for the Capital, he received from the tsung-tuh, or governor of Canton, a copy of an imperial order, which, among other expressions, contained the following:—"The European ambassador has passed many thousand miles to come here; the tsung-tuh of Kwang-tung must give him servants and provisions during his journey, and a mandarin to attend and take care of him....In reference to the departure of the ambassador, let that he left to his own will; it is not proper to molest him by hurrying and pushing him on; thus shall the tsung-tuh, as my representative, convince him of my kind affection." On the 18th of May 1727, the ambassador made his entrance into Peking. Of his audience with his Majesty, which took place ten days subsequently, we quote the description entire:—

"Two mandarins in actual waiting at court preceded; then followed an assessor of the Le-poo, or council of state (translated also, tribunal of civil office), and Parennin a French jesuit, the interpreter; next came the ambassador carrying with both hands his master's letter; and after him followed the secretary, and a third gentleman bearing the title of mordomo, who was conducted by a mandarin. Accompanied by the assessor, his excellency entered the western gates, ascended the steps of the throne, kneeling presented the credentials; he rose, went out by the same way, and in front of the middle door that was open, the ambassador and retinue performed the usual act of obeisance. This ceremony being over, the ambassador was brought to the foot of the throne, and seated at the head of the grandees; shortly after he had permission to make his speech, which he delivered placing himself on his knees upon a carpet.

"On the 7th June, the presents contained in thirty chests and boxes, were offered. The emperor said:—"It gave him great pleasure to perceive in so many precious things the affection of the king of Portugal." From that day the ambassador resided a whole month at Peking. He and his family were by an imperial proclamation allowed to stray without

impediment over the place in any direction they pleased. On the 7th July, his excellency had his audience of leave at Yuen-ming-yuen, a country-seat at no great distance from the Capital. That day, the emperor presented with his own hands to the ambassador a cup with wine, and sent from his own table several dishes. Leaving the place, presents were distributed to the retinue of the ambassador, and to his excellency; among other things, Yung-ching gave several trifles, which were valuable solely because they were the gifts of a monarch. Metello received also thirty chests and boxes to be delivered to his faithful Majesty the king of Portugal.

Little or no advantage seems to have resulted from this embassy, though it cost the inhabitants of Macao the heavy sum of 30,000 taels. Another embassy reached Peking in 1753; it was conducted, and it ended very much like the preceding one. This, we believe, was the last Portuguese embassy to the court of Peking.

4. *The Roman Catholic missions in China.* The first Roman Catholic missionaries, who were at all successful in China, were *jesuits*. In 1541, the next year after their order arose, Xavier came to the East; in 1552 he left Goa, touched at Malacca, and before the close of the year died at San-shan. Dominicans, Augustines, and Capuchins followed, and attempted to enter the country, but were repulsed. In 1579, Miguel Ruggiero an Italian jesuit arrived in China and commenced the study of the language. Two years subsequently he came, in the capacity of a chaplain, with the Macao ships to Canton; and here "the missionary gave vent to his vocation, and began converting people." In 1582, he was joined by Matthew Ricci. "To conceal their real intention, the missionaries recurred unblushingly to a falsehood, affirming that their only wishes were to make themselves masters of the Chinese language, and to become acquainted with the arts and sciences of the country." They encountered much opposition; but at length, "were at liberty to settle at *Chao-chew-foo*, where in fact, they arrived in April 1589." Our author gives a

vivid picture of their reception at that place. The literati praised their precepts so far as they coincided with those of Confucius; they admitted the propriety of worshipping the Lord of Heaven; but they railed at the doctrines "of original sin," "of eternal torments, of the incarnation, of the Trinity, and of not being allowed to marry more than one wife; they accused the Europeans of teaching a spurious and pernicious doctrine, of building churches at the expense of their dupes, of introducing young girls to monasteries, of forgetting their parents when dead, of paying respect neither to the departed, nor to Confucius, but merely to a stranger they called Jesus." But "the incredulity of many, the rancor of others, and not even the queer theatrical jests, were sufficient to dishearten Ricci, who by his knowledge of mathematics, experimental philosophy, &c., had means to amuse, entertain, and please visitors from many parts of China; some of them became his converts; others his protectors and friends."

By the advice of Alexander Valignano, Ricci and "his brethren jesuits," in 1594, threw off the garb of the Bonzes, and put on the more respected dress of the literati. In such an attire Ricci became a fit companion to men of rank; and was enabled to proceed with recommendations to Nanking, entertaining the hope that he might there be permitted to raise the standard of the cross; but betrayed by his features, he was suspected of being a Japanese spy (for China had a war with Japan), and was ordered to quit the place immediately. He now directed his steps to Nanchang-foo the capital of Keang-se, where he was permitted by the governor, in 1595, to lay the foundation of a religious institution. His activity and zeal were further stimulated by 'the dignity of Superior of all the missions in China, present and future,' which was conferred on him by Valignano, our author thinks in 1597. Soon again Ricci found

opportunity to visit Nanking; but the war with Japan still continued, and the fear of strangers likewise. The superior therefore turned his course to Soo-chow-foo, in the province of Keang-nan; at which place he was permitted in 1598 to establish christianity.

"At length peace being concluded with Japan, Ricci determined to appear a third time at Nanking, where he now was welcomed with that amity, frankness, and good breeding, which are said to be characteristic of those who belong to the old capital of China. The reputation of a "*savant*" had preceded Ricci. His lectures on exact sciences were listened to with rapture; they excited in the auditory a sincere wish to become acquainted with the truth of mathematics. To gratify his hearers, father Matthew translated the elements of Euclid; and a new christian by the name of Paul, Siniee Siu, gave them the fullness of the Chinese idiom. By this work Ricci conciliated such an affection, that even those, who were greater admirers of his philosophic than of his religious tenets, acquiesced in his instituting (1599) at Nanking a church, in which Lazar Cattaneo remained. Being favored with many recommendations to men of high rank and reputation at Court, and with letters patent from a great magistrate granting him liberty to carry to the presence of the Emperor a few European curiosities, Ricci, accompanied by a Spanish jesuit Diogo Pantoja, set out for Peking. At Lin-tsin-chew, an imperial toll on the grand canal, an eunuch, Mathan, administrator of the customs, tendered his services to the strangers.....Ricci declared to Mathan, "that he desired to have the honor and good fortune personally to present to the emperor the insignificant trifles he had brought, and to spend the rest of his days in the service of their common lord and master." The eunuch took the priests in one of his boats to Tien-tsin and lodged them in the fort, that their persons might not be exposed to insult, nor their property to depredation."

After a delay of six months the strangers were permitted to proceed to Peking; they entered the capital on the 4th of January 1601.* The Emperor accepted their presents, and commanded that they should first be accommodated at the place where foreign envoys usually alighted, and after-

* Our author says 1606, which we suspect is an error of the press; Semedo, and Du Halde write 1601. In this and in some other instances, we wish the writer had given a reference to his authorities.

wards be allowed to "take a house at their own convenience;" and at last, he assigned to them a fixed stipend, some say every three, others every four months. So many signal favors gave lustre to the two Europeans, whose real intentions were carefully concealed from the court. In the mean time, jesuits joined their associates not only at Peking, but at the intermediate and collateral stations, which Ricci had established in his progress from the province of Canton to Peking. So long as the jesuits had the exclusive care of the mission in China, the undertaking went on peacefully. At Peking their numbers increased greatly, and they were allowed to purchase a house, which however was afterwards converted into a church, and dedicated to St. Joseph. Some of their neophytes became men of influence; and "the good-will of many was bought and preserved by liberal offerings at the altar of self interest." Thus the Roman catholics settled at Peking. Ricci died in 1610.

"Men free from illusion and bribery were on the alert; they traced the progress of the mischief in all its bearings, and felt the imperious necessity of checking its growth before it got strength to set at naught the commands of government." By an imperial decree, dated February 14th 1617, the missionaries were to be sent from court, and from the provinces to Canton, that they might return to their homes. This order was but partially obeyed; the priests found shelter and protection in the families of their converts, and the storm was soon spent. Jesuits came to China in great numbers: among them, and the most distinguished for his missionary zeal, and knowledge in mathematics, was John Adam Schaal, a German.

The *Ta-tsing* dynasty arose in 1644; its first sovereign commissioned Schaal to reform the *Calendar*; which was done so well, that the emperor appointed him 'president of the tribunal of astronomy.' The Jesuits now had great influence; and

permission was granted them to build two new churches in the capital, and to repair many which were decaying in the provinces. New laborers in considerable numbers were allowed to enter the country; and one of them, Ferdinand Verbiest a German, became coadjutor to Schaal in his astronomical pursuits. The imperial favor lasted during the whole reign of Shun-che. At his demise Kanghe, a young lad eight or nine years old, was left to succeed to the throne, under the guardianship of four Tartars. These men viewed the talents of Schaal with impartiality, but held his religious profession in no peculiar regard; and the infallibility of the doctrine propagated by the jesuits, was questioned.

By papal concessions, free ingress to all the provinces had already been granted to friars of all denominations. Mendicants, principally Dominicans, quarrelled with the Jesuits about the signification of the words *teen* and *shang-te*, and the veneration the Chinese paid to Confucius and the dead. This strife revealed the important secret, that the principles of the new doctrine were made to subserve the purposes of those who were aspiring to influence. It was remembered also, that while the catholics continued in Japan, nothing but intrigue, schism, and civil war was heard of; calamities that might sooner or later befal China, if the criminal eagerness of the missionaries in *enlisting* people of all classes were not checked. 'The members of the different orders wore distinctive badges of medals, rosaries, crosses, &c., and were always ready to obey the call of their chiefs, who could have no scruple to lead them on to action, the moment a probability of success in subverting the existing political order and ancient worship of China should offer.' A remonstrance containing these charges was presented to the four regents, the tutors of Kanghe. "The case was tried by several tribunals, whose members expressed (1665)

their conviction, that Schaal and his associates *merited the punishment of seducers, who announced to the people a false and pernicious doctrine.* Schaal died of grief; Verbiest and others absconded; and many were expelled from the capital and the provinces to Canton."

Kanghe having taken the reins of government in his own hands, made Verbiest director of the tribunal of astronomy. Influenced by this jesuit, the emperor in 1671 allowed the missionaries, who had been banished to Canton, to return to their respective churches, but decreed at the same time that *no Chinese shall embrace christianity.* In 1688, Gerbillon and Bouvet, two French jesuits, were allowed to join Verbiest at court. But the affairs of the mission soon wore a different aspect:—

"In the minds of men of a cultivated and sound understanding, the foreign sect had never ceased to excite suspicion;—it might in time be the cause of dissentions, strife, and schism—a reason why really good patriots always advised to drive its propagators from the country. In the beginning, interested men winked at the residence and occupations of missionaries; who, being strengthened by friends and neophytes, acquired influence to elude the force of decrees, and even means to return into favor with government. The missionaries had already weathered two storms, denominated "*general persecutions,*" each of six years duration; a third was now in progress. A Foo-yuen of the province of Chekeang determined, notwithstanding the solicitations of his friends, to draw by a memorial the attention of Kanghe to the inevitable disorder which threatened China, were fanatic foreigners any longer suffered to spread a doctrine equally adverse to the existing religion, as to the independence of the state. It was examined by the Le-poo, or tribunal of rites, whose members insinuated that no foreign creed ought to be tolerated in the empire. Greatly alarmed at this hint, the missionaries were night and day, it may be said, on their knees worshipping a sovereign on whose clemency and partiality their existence depended....At length, the emperor condescended to receive from the priests a memorial, which was transmitted to the Le-poo with a command to revise it. Finding no reason for an alteration, the tribunal abided by their former opinion. The emperor was going to conform himself to it,—saying to So-san, I regret I cannot comply with the petition of the Europeans;—when that prince, a cunning and subtle courtier, insinuated that the emperor's supreme

will might be intimated. Kanghe allowed himself to be misled; So-san brought the message to the Le-poo, who drew up a decree which was signed by Kanghe 22nd March 1692; it authorized the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in China."

During the period which elapsed between the publication of this decree and another which was signed by Yungching, and which expelled the missionaries from the provinces, there were exhibited a series of very extraordinary transactions. The missionaries were in constant collision with the high authorities of the empire, while they incessantly wrangled among themselves; moreover the jurisdiction of the field they occupied, was a subject of dispute by the emperor of China on the one side, and by the kings of Portugal and the Roman pontiffs on the other; while at the same time, the two latter powers sharply contested the same point between themselves.

Kanghe, like Shunche his predecessor, tolerated but never embraced the religion of the Roman catholics; he granted many privileges to the promulgators of that creed, yet he never forsook the religion of his fathers. It was only under various restrictions that he allowed the jesuits, and the others who followed them, to reside in his dominions; but the members of the several missions disregarded the imperial decrees, and yielded obedience to their papal masters—and this it was that brought them in frequent collision with the civil authorities.

We have already alluded to the disputes which arose, at a very early period, between the jesuits and the other orders concerning various rites and ceremonies. Ricci, as Superior of all the missions in China, drew up a number of rules for the regulation of those who might join in the labors of the mission; he considered the ~~rites~~ and customs of the Chinese to be merely civil and secular; such however were not the views and opinions of

others. John Baptist Morales, a Spanish Dominican, declared them to be superstitious and idolatrous; as such they were condemned by the congregation of the Propaganda Fide, and its opinion in 1645, was confirmed by Innocent X. But shortly after this, Martin Martinez a jesuit, proved to the satisfaction of the tribunal of inquisitors, that these rights and customs were of a civil nature; and in that light they were approved in 1656 by Alexander VII. Thus the two opposite opinions were sanctioned by papal authority.

An involuntary conjunction of the missionaries in 1665 at Canton, to which place they were banished by an imperial order, inspired them with a desire to fraternize, and to set at rest certain questions concerning which they had been and still were divided. Not less than twenty-three jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans, who were living together in a seminary that had belonged to the jesuits, held several meetings, in which the controverted points were discussed by 'learned and orthodox philologists.' Forty-two articles, that should hereafter serve for rules of conduct were unanimously adopted. One of these articles runs thus:—

"In respect to the customs, by which the Chinese worship Confucius and the deceased, the answer of the congregation of the universal inquisition, sanctioned 1656 by his holiness Alexander VII, shall be invariably followed; for it is founded upon the most probable opinion, without any evident proof to the contrary; and this probability being admitted, the door of salvation must not be shut against innumerable Chinese, who would abandon our Christian religion were they forbidden to attend to those things they may lawfully and without injury to their faith attend to, and forced to give up what cannot be given up without serious consequences."

Such was the agreement. Yet very soon after the missionaries were allowed to join their respective establishments, a Spanish Dominican, Dominick Navarette (one of the individuals who signed the agreement) hoisted the standard of reprobation

against the rites and customs of China, and was "joined in chorus" by many others. In 1693, Charles Maigrot, bishop and apostolic vicar, by his own authority and without applying to his principal at Rome, issued a mandate, which added fuel to the already violent dispute. Irrespective of the decree of the holy inquisition, which had been confirmed by Alexander VII, Maigrot decided, that *Teen* signified nothing more than the material heavens, and that the Chinese customs and rites were idolatrous. In 1700, Kanghe declared in an edict which was communicated to the pope, that *Teen means the true God*, and that *the customs of China are political*; yet the decision of Maigrot was supported by four inquisitors, and confirmed (20th Nov. 1704,) by a decree of Clement XI.

To settle a dispute which had existed for almost a century, Tournon, an apostolic visitor and legate, was now on his way to China; a man, says Mosheim, "whose good disposition was under the influence of a narrow spirit, and a weak understanding." Tournon disliked the jesuits, and suspected their sincerity; and by neglecting to embark at Lisbon (as he was bound to do,) he arrayed against himself the crown and court of Portugal, the archbishop of Goa, and the bishop of Macao; the latter was directed to publish an order forbidding the catholics in China to acknowledge Tournon to be an apostolic visitor. He arrived in China in 1705; and shortly after, having received from Europe, Clement's decree of Nov. 1704, he echoed by mandate, that no Chinese christian should ever practice the customs and usages which had been interdicted by the pope. But Kanghe was not the man who would transfer to a pope the right of legislating over his own subjects; he issued 17th December 1706, a declaration, "that he would countenance those missionaries who preached the doctrine of Ricci, but

persecute those who followed the opinion of Mairgrot." In accordance with this determination, an examiner was appointed; and those missionaries who would comply with the will of his majesty were to receive an imperial license, and those who would not, were to depart within five days to Canton and embark for Europe.

The battle now waxed hotter and hotter. To meet the exigences of the case, Tournon published (1st June 1706, and 25th January 1707,) two mandates forbidding the missionaries under pain of excommunication, to enter with the examiner upon any discussion concerning the controverted subjects. These mandates were approved by a congregation of inquisitors; and in 1715, they were converted into a law. To enforce this apostolic constitution, Clement XI sent the patriarch Mezzabarba as his legate to China; he arrived in 1720; but finding that Kanghe persisted in his determination never to grant to the papal court any kind of jurisdiction over his subjects, the legate thought proper, in accordance with his power, and for the sake of saving religion from the disgrace of being banished, to concede "eight permissions;" which, however, as they did very little to reconcile the contending parties, were afterwards abrogated and condemned.

One other scene belongs to this period, and is closely connected with the preceding; we quote it entire:—

"Gregory XIII entrusted the spiritual government of all China to the bishop of Macao, and the missionary care to jesuits and natives of Portugal. That kingdom, whose population was always small, could not supply an extending mission in Asia with indispensable laborers: popes therefore permitted, by degrees, Franeiscans, Dominicans, Augustines, secular priests of the seminary of foreign missions at Paris, and those of the Propaganda Fide, to exert their devotional zeal in various parts of China. Any institution, either of them had organized, was considered property by birth-right, to be governed with the consent of the prelate by members of its own body. These concessions the King of Portugal deemed

derogatory to his royal claim; for were it necessary, he argued, to subduct from the bishop of Macao any part of the spiritual obedience of China, the sovereign of Portugal alone had the right to divide it, and to nominate ecclesiasties proper for the discharge of episcopal duties in any part of that vast empire. Upon this plea, Alexander VIII consented that Peter II, king of Portugal, should appoint three bishops, and fix the limits of their respective jurisdiction. The three dioceses which Peter proposed, comprehended not only China, but also Tungking and Cochinchina,—a pretension so unreasonable that the Vatican refused to sanction it. The king's claim, Innocent XII annulled (1696) by the bull "*E sublime*," assigning by his sole and supreme authority to the bishopric of Peking, the provinces Peh-chih-le, Shan-tung, and the eastern Tartary; to that of Nanking, the provinces of Keang-nan and Honan; and to that of Macao, the provinces Kwang-tung Keang-se, and the island Hainan; he reserved to himself to govern the rest of China by apostolic vicars, nominated by the congregation of the Propaganda Fide, and approved by the pope."

We have now noticed, as they are sketched in the work before us, the most important events of the mission down to 23rd Jan. 1723, when by an imperial decree, 300 churches and 300,000 christians were, it is said, deprived of their rulers and priests. A few missionaries were tolerated at Peking; a few were concealed in the provinces; many who were driven to Canton, prevailed on their converts to trace a route by which they might come back and continue their occupations; and out of thirty exiles, sixteen returned; such a defalcation created suspicion, and the remaining priests were sent to Macao with a positive injunction to leave the country by the first ship that went to sea.—The jesuits acted with more prudence, and did not abscond. This mark of obedience, and the influence of their protectors reconciled them with the court; and Yung-ching appointed Ignatius Kægler president of the 'tribunal of astronomy,' and gave him a title of honor.

Keen-lung ascended the throne of his father in 1736. His hatred of the priests, who were still secretly laboring to extend the proscribed doctrine,

induced him to search for them with uncommon eagerness and perseverance. A zealous governor of Fuhkeen, having discovered christians in his province, imprisoned them, tried them, convicted them of disobedience; and the emperor not satisfied by driving the priests out of the country, to which they usually returned again, ratified the sentence by which a bishop, *Peter Martyr Sanz*, lost his life. Sanz was not the only victim in Fuhkeen. The author goes on to remark:—

“That the emperor might trace with greater certainty the odious priests and his rebellious subjects, secret orders were sent to the governors;—many missionaries were apprehended, ill used, tortured; many churches were plundered, and many families ruined. The two provinces Shan-se and Shen-se suffered most. The loss of missionaries was easily retrieved, for new subjects flocked to China. Those who were not vassals of Portugal or could not produce a license from the court of Lisbon to remain in Asia, were refused admittance to Macao; but found protection at the procurator’s of the Propaganda Fide, *G. della Torre*, who lived in Canton. From thence he was in the habit clandestinely to forward preachers to different parts of China. A zealous satellite,—a Chinese educated at Naples in the college “*della sacra familia de Gesu Christo*,” a priest named Peter Zay,—had constantly been successful in delivering unmolested at the places of their respective destination those missionaries whom the procurator had entrusted to his care and foresight. Another Chinese from the same college, whose name was *Philip Lieu*, engaged to bring, at less expense, four Europeans to Se-gan-foo, the Capital of Shen-se; they had reached Seang-yang-foo, in the northern parts of Hoo-kwang, and were invited to alight at the house of a new christian, to whom the conductor was addressed. The missionaries rejected the offer, but were soon after assailed by a gang of mandarin runners, headed by the perfidious christian, and stripped of every thing valuable which they possessed. In the expectation that their crime might be hid and pass unnoticed, the gang declared at the office of a military commander, that four Europeans were proceeding to Shen-se with an intention to tender their services to the Mohammedans, who were in arms against government. In consequence of this calumny, the missionaries were imprisoned (1784), examined, and sent to Peking, in company with those who had undertaken to carry them to the place of their destination.

Pater Zay fled to Goa; of his associates, some, “when seized, lost their fortitude at the sight of the

instruments of torture, and exchanged the crown of a martyr for an ignominious, miserable life; others, allured by the hope of pardon, apostatized unhesitatingly, and reverted to the worship of their ancestors; the most sly made no difficulty of letting their judges into the secret of the missionary system." These proceedings led on to a minute investigation, and "many missionaries in disguise were found in almost all the provinces;" they were imprisoned; and their coadjutors, the Chinese priests, fled and hid themselves in dens and caverns. "To mitigate the severity of the persecution and of the prison, and likewise the degree of punishment that awaited the culprits, the prelates residing at Peking, spared neither supplications, entreaties, nor bribes. However, their solicitations effected no relief. Every effort to save their friends had proved inefficient; when all at once the most unexpected decree of 9th Nov. 1785, filled all christian hearts with consolation and gladness. Fully convinced by inquiries and proofs, that the missionaries had no other object than to teach religion, Keen-lung released twelve Europeans which were in jail, and granted them either to remain in their respective churches in Peking, or to proceed accompanied by a mandarin to Canton, that they might return to Europe. Nine of them accepted the last proposal; three joined their friends at Peking."—This narrative, our author remarks, was borrowed from a manuscript notice, which the Rev. J. B. Marchini, procurator of the Propaganda, communicated to his superiors at Rome.

During the present century the mission has been in a low, and declining state; yet on two or three occasions at least, it has drawn forth the severe animadversion of government—once in 1805; again in 1811; and a third time,* according to bishop

* See preceding page 377; also Milne's *Retrospect* p 128. On the 2nd September 1814, says Dr. Milne, there was issued a very violent edict, in which harsher language was employed than had ever before been used.

Fontana, in 1815. Our author is unable to determine precisely the number now belonging to the Roman Catholic missions in China. But he says, we shall approach the truth by borrowing some statistics from the Rev. J. B. Marchini's map of the missions which was presented in 1810 to the then governing bishop of Macao.

<i>Bishoprics.</i>	<i>Composed of the European provinces.</i>	<i>Native Chinese priests. christ'ns.</i>
Macao,	{ Kwang-tung, Kwang- se and Hainan.	1 bishop 5 7,000
Peking,	{ Pih-chih-le, Shan-tung, and Eastern Tartary.	1 bishop 18 40,000 11 missionaries
Nanking,	{ Keang-nau and Ho- nan.	1 bishop 6 33,000
<i>Vicarages.</i>		
Fuhkeen,	{ Fuh-keen, Che-keang, Keang-se and Formosa.	1 bish. 1 coadju. 8 30,000 4 missionaries
Szechuen,	{ Sze-chuen, Kwei-chow and Yun-nan.	1 bish. 1 coadju. 25 70,000 2 missionaries
Shanse,	{ Shan-se, Shen-se, Kan- suh, Hoo-kwang, and Western Tartary.	1 bishop and 18 35,000 6missionaries. — 215,000

5. *Papal legates to China.*—This article is preceded by a brief account of what is meant by the king of Portugal's patronage. By their patronage the sovereigns of Portugal claimed the right, not only to establish churches and to govern those which already existed within the limits of their dominions, but also to assign pastors to such churches as might be erected in any part of the heathen lands of Asia, which were independent of Portugal: further, by bulls of Gregory XIII and Clement VIII, no ecclesiastic could proceed to Asia without the permission of the court of Lisbon. But subsequently,—when the Dutch, English, and others, had formed settlements in India,—Urban VIII revoked the former bulls, and allowed missionaries to proceed to Asia by any way they

pleased. In 1688, the court of Lisbon, jealous of its royal prerogative, decreed that every missionary going to Asia, should take the oath of "universal patronage;" the counsellors of the Vatican opposed the decree, by commanding that no superior of the regular clergy should suffer any of his subjects to take the oath.

Alexander Valignano and Miguel Ruggiero, who were among the first catholics that came to this country, exerted all their influence to induce the pope to send a legate to China; but neither their arguments, nor the dispute between the court of Portugal and his holiness, could induce the latter to set on foot such a mission. For nearly a century, almost the whole of the navigation to Asia was under the control of the Portugueses, and during the whole of that period all direct intercourse between Rome and Peking was deferred.

We have already seen Tournon and Mezzabarba at Peking, and have noticed the occasion of their going thither. The conduct of Tournon drew down upon him the severe displeasure of the emperor, and the legate was commanded to leave the capital in a few days; he arrived at Macao 30th June 1707, where he had to encounter disobedience, humiliation, and confinement; for disregarding the authorities of Macao, and the rights of "the royal patronage," Tournon was deprived of his liberty, shut up in a private house (not in the episcopal palace as Mosheim states), and watched by rigorous, inexorable guards. Disgusted with incessant vexations, Tournon resolved to handle the weapons of the Vatican; he hurled against his principal enemies ecclesiastical censures; but they were treated with so little respect, that the bishop of Macao ventured to stick up at the very door of the legate's residence a *monitory*, in which he was exhorted under pain of excommunication to revoke within three days his censures, and to exhibit to the diocesan, evidences of his legateship.

"The dignity of a cardinal, to which Clement XI had raised Tournon, could not eradicate the recollection of painful and undeserved insults which impious men (he thought) had levelled against his sacred person; and though his eminence bore with singular resignation such humiliation, sorrow hastened, no doubt, the dissolution of his bodily frame,—for he expired, not as Mosheim relates on the 8th of June 1711, but at one o'clock P. M. on the 8th of July 1710." Thus terminated the career of *Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon*.

The other legate, *Charles Ambrose Mezzabarba*, came to China with the approbation of the court of Lisbon, and was well received by that of Peking. He "was instructed to express the pope's sincere gratitude to Kanghe for his magnanimous kindness towards the missionaries, to beg leave to remain in China at the head, or as superior of the whole mission, and to obtain from Kanghe his consent, that the christians in China might submit to the decision of his holiness concerning the rites....Mezzabarba at his reception congratulated Kanghe upon the brilliant and glorious victories which his armies had achieved in Thibet,—a speech that could hardly fail to conciliate the good will of the victor. Kanghe distinguished the legate by peculiar affability, but altered his tone whenever the ceremonies condemned at Rome, came under consideration." The legate soon perceiving that the emperor would not surrender any part of his inherent authority, solicited and obtained permission to return to Europe. On his arrival at Macao, he was furnished, by the emperor's command, with a variety of presents for the pope. The presents, and the ship in which they were embarked were burnt in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro; the pontiff however took opportunity, by despatching two friars with a letter and presents, to acknowledge the imperial favor, and to solicit again protection for the Europeans and the natives who professed

christianity in China. The emperor returned a courteous answer, but declared at the same time, that he could not permit the missionaries to live in the provinces.

In closing the book before us, we can repeat the commendatory remarks with which we commenced this review. It exhibits the mission in other and darker colors than those which have usually been given by the jesuits; but as the intercourse of foreigners with China, may long feel the influence of that mission, it is exceedingly desirable to know fully its character. If the whole or a part of those expensive and painful efforts to plant the gospel here, were undertaken with the design of gaining worldly aggrandizement, rather than of blessing the Chinese by the reign of the Prince of peace; or if a series of sinister actions characterized the conduct of the professed followers of Jesus, surely it should be known—that the evils entailed may be more speedily removed, and their recurrence prevented. Our author has enjoyed good opportunities to learn the true facts of the case; still we do not vouch for the correctness of all the statements, nor wish to be held responsible for all the sentiments, exhibited in the extracts. We would not speak irreverently of christianity under any form, nor even seem to call those pagan ceremonies innocent which God abhors. We join heartily with our author when he recognizes the rule '*of doing to others what we wish should be done to us,*' and anticipates the reign of "divine benevolence and brotherly affection;" and moreover, since it is right to obey God rather than man, we hold that there is no human authority, no ancient custom, no imperial edict that can abrogate the Redeemer's command, to *go into all the world and preach his gospel to every creature.*

EARLY INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO CHINA.

THAT christianity was partially made known in China at a very early period, seems now to admit of little doubt. But the date of any attempts to plant the gospel here, earlier than the entrance of the jesuits in the 16th century, is not very well established. Indeed it is deemed uncertain whether any efforts at all reached so far as this country, during the apostolic age: but it is to this point first we offer such testimonies as can be had, and chiefly from Yeates' Indian church history.

The first circumstances which attended the kingdom of God coming with power, on the day of pentecost, were admirably calculated to give celebrity to the gospel; and not only so, but to give it rapid and extensive promulgation. Of those persons who heard the apostles speak in their own language the wonderful works of God, there were "Parthians and Medes and Elamites and the dwellers in Mesopotamia—and devout men out of every nation under heaven." These on returning to their own country, could not fail to spread abroad the wonderful facts and the glad tidings of salvation: so that in Persia and its confines, beyond the Euphrates and Chaldea, some knowledge of the gospel must have been immediately carried. These facts are to the point of our first inquiry; for we wish to move on with the progress of christianity eastward, to see whether it is *possible* that it should have gone to the extremity of Asia in that age.

The Syrian and Chaldaean writers, according to Assemannus, relate that "Thaddeus one of the seventy disciples, went into Mesopotamia, and that he was sent thither by Thomas the apostle, soon after our Lord's ascension: also that the same Thaddeus had with him two disciples to assist in the promulgation of the gospel, whose names were Marus and Agheus, both of the seventy." Barhebraeus writes, that "Marus survived the martyrdom of his fellow laborers, but was obliged to remove eastward. He preached in Assyria and in all the land of Shinar. He taught in three hundred and sixty churches, which were built during his time in the east; and having fulfilled his preaching for 33 years, he departed to the Lord, in a city named Badaraja, and was buried in a church which he had built." These extracts are sufficient for our present purpose—to show that at an *early* period of the *apostolic* age, churches were not only planted in the chief cities of these several countries, but so founded and governed by the labors and wisdom of these apostolic men, that they soon became the emporiums of the gospel to the remotest regions of the east.

The eastern or Chaldean christians ‘throughout all Asia from Antioch to the walls of China, celebrate Thomas as their chief and great apostle. He was the first preacher of christianity among the Hindoos, and founded the churches of Malabar, where to this day, the ancient monuments, writings, and traditions, afford the most indubitable proofs of his apostolic labors among them. More than two hundred thousand Syrian christians on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, hold with one uniform tradition, that Thomas the apostle was the founder of their churches.’ It appears from the learned Assenianus, and other subsequent writers, that Thomas having passed through the country from Malabar to Coromandel, and made great conversions to the faith in those parts, proceeded over to some coast on the east called China, which *may have been* that country now called Coehinchina. Indeed when we reflect on the vast extent of China, and on the rapidity with which christianity made its way eastward through Persia, India, and Tartary, it is scarcely possible to deny its entrance into this vast dominion also. The only rational objection is the distance of place; but are not the eastern parts of India also distant? Yet we are certain from history that christianity had in the apostolic times reached those countries. That it should have been carried into China in the same age, is not impossible therefore; but considering the spirit of its propagators, it is very *improbable* that they would rest in India without attempting to penetrate its castren and populous vicinity, or having attempted and been totally repulsed and excluded, that no memorial of it should have been left.

The Syrian chronicles relate, that Thomas having gone through Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Persia and Parthia, went to the utmost confines of the east. Theodore says, that the Parthians, Medes, Brahmans, the Hindoos and other bordering nations, received the gospel of Christ from Thomas. The Malabar christians relate, that St. Thomas went from Meliapore, where he converted the king and the people to the christian faith, to China, and preached the gospel in the city of Cambala (the city of the great khan), and there he built a church. The same is also attested by the Syrian writers. In the Chaldean ritual there is an office for the celebration of St. Thomas the apostle and martyr. ‘By the blessed St. Thomas, the Chinese and Chushiths were converted to the truth. And again; the Persians, the Hindoos, the Chinese, and other regions, offer memorials of celebration to the sacred name of Thomas.’

Antonius Govea relates the apostle’s return from China to the coast of Coromandel, where by reason of the innumerable conversions to the faith of Christ, he exposed himself to the hatred and envy of two bramins, who having raised an uproar against the apostle, buried him with stones; but another bra-min perceiving him yet alive, thrust him through with a lance and he expired. His sepulchre was hewn out of a rock

in the mountain afterwards called St. Thomas' mountain. According to the Indian tradition, the martyrdom of the apostle happened in the sixty-eighth year of the christian era, and in the reign of their king Salivahan. On the 22nd day of August, A. D. 380, the coffin of St. Thomas the apostle, which had been brought from India at immense expense, was deposited in the great temple^{of} Edessa, dedicated to him. Even the day of the removal of the body of St. Thomas, is commemorated at this time with great solemnity in India.

Du Halde says; the famous "Quan-yun-chang" who lived in the beginning of the second century, certainly had a knowledge of Jesus Christ, as the writings of his hand, subsequently engraved upon stones, plainly prove. These mention the birth of the Savior in a *grotto*, his death, his resurrection, his ascension, and the impression of his holy feet; traditions which are so many riddles to the heathen. The Chinese histories give no date to the introduction of christianity, and are silent as to the results of missionary labors. All that appears from them is, that about that time (the beginning of the 2nd century,) an extraordinary person arrived in China, who taught a doctrine purely spiritual, and drew the admiration of the world upon him, by the fame of his virtues, by the sanctity of his life, and by the number of his miracles.

From this time till A. D. 636, we have no records of christianity in China. The celebrated monument discovered in 1625, if authentic, furnishes the history of the progress of the gospel, from 636 till the date of its erection in 780. We cannot pretend to enter into any thorough defence of its authenticity, nor is it now necessary, as that was done long since. But from a general and obvious view of the case, we cannot be credulous enough to believe it either totally or chiefly a fabrication of the jesuits. That they might often have felt it desirable to prove to their hearers, the antiquity of the gospel and its former influence even over China, we can well believe. But that they could think of palming such a forgery upon them is really incredible: for the account is, that Chinese workmen found it buried under rubbish, made it known to the governor, who examined it, placed it in a pagoda near by, where it attracted so much the attention of the learned natives that they came from all quarters to see it. A native christian after a time also came, and perceiving the meaning which others did not, wrote a copy to his distant friend, a christian mandarin, from whom it first reached the foreigners. That the jesuits therefore could hope to deceive the *pagans* by this artifice seems impossible. There is no other strong motive to induce them to forge it, unless perhaps to account to themselves and Europeans, for the distressing similarity between many popish and budhistic ceremonies. But a mere glance at the facts stated, will be

sufficient to show the futility of such a supposition. For the monument has been visited by many fathers, at various times, examined leisurely, and repeatedly, copied and translated. Semedo visited it three years after its discovery, and had a thousand opportunities to scrutinize it fully. It was open to all the different and warring orders of priests, who have none of them ever dreamed of disclosing the forgery to the injury of the other. As to the correctness of the translations, there are evident discrepancies, but such as rather strengthen the belief in the identity of the originals. It was discovered at Segnan-foo, the capital of the province Shense, situated on the south side of the Yellow river, lat. 34 deg. 15 min. 36 sec. and long. 106 deg. 25 min. east from Paris. A christian church was soon after founded there in consequence and in commemoration of the discovery.

The monument itself is a marble table near ten feet long and five broad. On one side is a Chinese inscription of twenty-eight lines and sixty-two words in each line, making about 1736 characters. Over it is the title in nine Chinese words, translated thus: *this stone was erected to the honor and eternal memory of the law of light and truth brought from Ta-cin (Syria)*. On the margin and at the bottom of this inscription, are writings in the Syriac language. The body of the inscription is divided into twenty-one verses; the first few containing a summary of the christian faith; the rest form a sort of chronicle of the mission from its arrival in 636 till the erection of the stone in 780. According to this record, the mission entered China A. D. 636, in the reign of the emperor Tae-tsung, was favorably received, and before the end of the century, christianity was promulgated and churches built in the ten provinces which then composed the empire. A persecution against the christians arose in 699, and a fiercer one in 713. During this time, a great many churches were destroyed, and doubtless many of the teachers suffered martyrdom: hence we find that a second mission arrived in China soon after, the names of whose leaders are enumerated. Then follows the state of christianity during the reign of three or four emperors who favored it, one of whom "honored the commemoration of Christ's nativity with profound respect." It closes with the date of the erection of the monument and the name of the writer of the inscription. The Syrian inscription contains the names and offices of the leaders of the missions arranged in seven classes, from the bishop downward, to the number of ninety-two. This is the only known record of the progress of the mission for 140 years after its introduction; but if the country were open to investigation, we may suppose that other records of similar character would reward the researches of missionaries or historians.

For an account of the progress of the gospel subsequent

to this, and previous to the arrival of the Romish missionaries, we are indebted chiefly to the valuable notes, of Murdoch's new translation of Mosheim.

Timothaeus the patriarch of the Nestorians, who lived till 820, appointed David metropolitan of China; and this sect seems to have become numerous in Tartary and in the adjacent regions. In the time of Genghis khan and his successors, though the christians resident in those countries were much distressed, yet it appears from unquestionable testimony, that numerous bodies of Nestorians were still scattered over all the northern parts of Asia and China. In 1202, Ghenghis khan conquered Un khai the fourth and last of the christian kings in central Asia, who bore also the name of Prester John. He married the daughter of Prester John, and several of his descendants had christian wives. Till near the close of this century, most of the Mongol princes, though tolerant to all religions, rather favored the christian. This afforded a fine opportunity for the Nestorians to propagate their religion all over the east and particularly in China.

The Roman pontiffs also sent not only ambassadors to the emperors, but missionaries also, chiefly Franciscan and Dominican monks, quite to Peking and China. There they gathered some churches, and at length established an archbishop with several suffragans. In 1307, Clement V. constituted John de Monte Corvino, archbishop of Cambala, that is, Peking. He translated the books of the New Testament, and the psalms of David, into the language of the Tartars. Benedict XII, in 1338 sent new nuncios into China and Tartary; and so long as the Tartar empire in China continued, the Latins and Nestorians had liberty to profess and propagate their religion. Much greater success would doubtless have attended these efforts in China and elsewhere, had the christians been united; but the Catholics and Nestorians strove to undermine each other, and were each in turn protected at the expense of the other. But near the close of this century, (the thirteenth) the Mohammedan religion gained the ascendency, especially in the west, and the khans in some instances allowed the christians to be persecuted.

In the fourteenth century, the Turks and Tartars wholly extirpated the christian religion in many cities and provinces, and caused the religion of Mohammed to be taught in its stead. The nation of the Tartars where such numbers had professed or tolerated christianity, universally submitted to the Koran. The mere nod of the terrific Tamerlane, was sufficient to cause multitudes to abandon christianity. But he also employed violence and the sword; and being persuaded that those who should compel many christians to embrace the religion of the Koran, might expect high rewards from God, he inflicted innumerable evils on those who adhered to their profession; cruelly butchering some and dooming others to per-

petual slavery. Thus, and by preventing the arrival of new teachers, the christian religion was overthrown in Tartary and China. No mention of Latin christians is made subsequent to 1370. But some traces of the Nestorians residing in China, can be found as late as the 16th century, yet this little handful of concealed christians must soon have become extinct.

MISCELLANIES.

THE RELIGION OF MY FATHER.—The emperor Napoleon gave directions to the priest Vignali as to the manner in which he wished his body to be laid out in a *chambre ardente*, (a state room lighted with torches,) ‘I am neither an atheist’ said Napoleon, ‘nor a rationalist; I believe in God, and am of the religion of my father. I was born a catholic and will fulfil all the duties of that church, and receive the assistance which she administers.’ (*Life of Napoleon.*)

There are several important topics suggested by this declaration, but permit me, Mr. Editor, to inquire of you concerning one only. How comes it to pass that it is so generally considered meritorious, to *be of the religion of one's father?* Inasmuch as all men know, that fathers may err on this important subject as well as sons; and if the principle were universally acted on, every form of idolatry and superstition would be immortalized. The principle is of course condemned in the Holy Scriptures; for if it were a correct one, the revelation of the Almighty himself, could not be received where polytheism had previously prevailed. The command of the Almighty sometimes is, “walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers—neither defile yourselves with their idols.” (Ezek. xx, 18.) It was long ago foretold as the consummation of God’s will, that the gentiles should come from the ends of the earth and say, “surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity, and things wherein there is no profit.” (Jer. xvi, 19.) And St. Peter declares that true christians are “redeemed from their vain conversation received by tradition from their fathers.” (1 Pet. i, 15.) I know that men should honor their father and their mother, but they should honor their God and Saviour more. Neither reason nor revelation requires a blind conformity to the religion of one’s native country, or one’s parents; and I cannot even surmise how it is considered a virtue. Your’s Omicron.

The inquiry and remarks of Omicron present a most interesting subject of thought to us who live in China, especially when

it is remembered how many millions of our race inherit their creed in the way which he exhibits. A few reasons which go to account for the prevalence of this fact, have occurred to our minds. Most of them will apply in some degree to the distinguished example which he quotes; but other causes also seem to have had an influence with Buonaparte. He had a powerful mind in its application to all his accustomed objects of thought. He knew how to collect and arrange facts in the most perspicuous order, and then the strength and clearness of his mind enabled him almost intuitively to look right through them to the correct conclusion. Few probably equalled him in the rapidity and extent and general correctness of his decisions, on all ordinary practical occasions. Yet with all this, we can easily conceive that the same mind when applied to the facts and the proofs of spiritual religion, and of a future state, might be at a loss, hesitate, and be unable to form any satisfactory conclusions. And this by no means because the nature of the subject is such as forbids knowledge the most satisfactory and consoling, but simply because the powers of the mind by long and exclusive devotion to sensible objects, have never acquired but have rather lost the capacity of deciding confidently on spiritual subjects. He has now, we suppose, for the first time seriously to apply his mind to these subjects, and its operations are awkward, and occasion him just distrust of the correctness of the conclusions to which they may lead him.

His self distrust would be such as a merchant would feel when called the first time, to administer medicines to a sick man: or a physician, in conning a lawyer's brief; or perhaps better yet, such as a man who has devoted his life to mathematics and the exact sciences, would feel in a jury-box when called to decide on the guilt of a prisoner, from uncertain and contrary evidence, none of which is mathematical. Yet his less learned fellow-juryman by his side, finds no difficulty in coming to a clear and correct judgment in the same case. And *he* is naturally qualified to form a conclusion equally correct, or perhaps more so, but his habits have been such, that he cannot form any opinion in such a case, which he himself dare trust. So in the case of Buonaparte and of many others; when their long and tenacious hold of worldly things, is forcibly loosened by losses or by the approach of death, and they turn an eye to the unknown future, they are too unused to the subject and have not time, to form an opinion of their own. Half awakened to the fact that some preparation is needed for the unknown but inevitable future, they look for the way in which their *fathers* went; and as the easiest way to calm their natural fears, give themselves up to a trodden indeed, but to them an unexplored way. Thus they vainly attempt to throw off from their own mind, the responsibility which the Maker imposed upon them, of ascertaining

and going in the *right way*—imposed by the very gift of conscience and of reason.—But in regard to the great multitudes of common men who believe as their fathers did, other reasons also seem to be operative to this result.

There is a weakness, incident more or less to all minds, but particularly frequent in such as are little accustomed to independent thought,—the weakness of *feeling security from numbers*. To be quite alone in any dangerous situation, aggravates the apprehensions which might naturally be indulged; so it is whether any assistance can be expected from that society or not. Though every man professes to believe, so far as he has any belief, that he must answer for himself alone to his Maker, yet the consciousness of untold guilt pressing upon his mind as he approaches the eternal world, operates to make this inevitable loneliness more insupportable. And this natural weakness of character, makes the *momentary* relief of hiding his individuality among a multitude of similar cases, a frequent resort. For it is easier to believe that a vast number of culprits together will receive a better lot from the judge, than could be expected by a solitary and guilty *one*; and at the worst, any lot will be more tolerable, shared with many, than the same endured alone. Many thus, without any proof whatever that the way is right, plunge into it, because it is “broad, and many there be which go in thereat.”

It is also much easier to pass along down unquestioned and unquestioning in the way the fathers’ trod, than to seek out and explore an untried way where no footsteps mark the path. To do *this*, is assuming more responsibility to one’s self, than is to be expected from any *common* interest which is felt respecting the end of the “customary way.” He who does this, must renounce that indolent and indifferent habit of regarding his future well-being, which is not only so consonant with, but so necessary to a life of worldly enjoyment. But to have the responsibility of adopting a correct creed, thrown off from one’s self upon his fathers, is to be quite rid of employing his own best powers and time upon it, and with an easy conscience to take the prescribed form, and thus pass smoothly down—where the fathers are. To adopt a set of reputable and established opinions, therefore, is far more agreeable to the general indifference or slight concern of men respecting religion, than to be at the pains of employing that reason which God gave for this very purpose.—If well balanced reason decides that our father’s belief is the true one, of course, such a case is not the one here reprehended.

But perhaps a more powerful cause still, is found in the sort of veneration which is attached to the *old way*. The parental authority and character communicate much of that veneration. The traditions which were handed down from past ages, and which are inculcated by parental precept and example, often take such a hold on the mind as never to be wholly lost. Around

them are clustered the first recollections of our moral, if not of our natural life. If good and true, the memory of such parental instructions embalms and hallows the truths, which a pious parent instilled into the mind of an affectionate child. Nothing except the very *evidence* itself of the divinity of our religion, sheds at this moment such joy and sacredness over the doctrines which we embrace, as the full persuasion, that as they made our father's life happy and death triumphant, so they have prepared, an abundant entrance for him into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord, where all who follow our master will meet. So on the other hand, if the traditions and superstitions handed down from an ancestry be false and even pernicious, as they may be, yet we can easily conceive, that associated as they are, with the first moral impressions of the mind, and accredited by the assent of parents, they may without even a shadow of evidence to support them, command no ordinary influence over an unreflecting man. And to honor parents, opinions may be retained for which no reason can be given, as is found to be fact at present in China. In such a case, it will often be esteemed rather a matter of merit to receive the old belief, than to question its correctness, or to reject it when evidently erroneous. Such at least will often be the result, when the great inquiry is not, what is the *right way*? but, what is far more general in this careless world, what is the *custom*? Not feeling bound to know the Giver of every good gift, and to learn the worship acceptable to him, they never use that divine gift which He has bestowed on all men, and by which he requires them to forsake the wrong and to follow in the right way. Right or wrong they go on, without knowing whether they go, and making even that culpable ignorance a merit, by drawing over their eyes the *vail of filial respect*, so as to hide the blessed God from themselves.

Another idea which often adds to the veneration which ancient opinions command, is their age. Those doctrines which have satisfied the fathers, should satisfy the son; and it requires no small share of fortitude to throw off the hollow forms of a senseless, cold hearted worship, and seek a more rational and satisfactory intercourse with God. He must either be unusually restless, or as we would rather hope, uncommonly earnest to secure his welfare in a future world, who will dare to stand up against the current of old superstitions, to throw such disrespect on the wisdom of his ancestors as to declare them in the wrong, and to bear the name of apostate. The very antiquity of any prevalent delusion throws something of respect and awe around it, but is itself no evidence of its truth. Every sober and reflecting mind must know, that the intelligent creature who lives, and breathes, and walks, amidst *nothing but his heavenly Father's works*, can never justly complain for want of means to know, and reasons to love the only

true God; and he who renders divine homage to something which he has not good reason to believe the Giver of every good gift, is very presumptuous, and unauthorized. Could we only see men willing to examine earnestly and honestly the revealed religion of Jesus Christ, we should be sure of the immediate and universal adoption of christianity. We claim no more for it than a thorough and honest examination—we need no more, we wish no more.

THE PORTS OF CHINA.—How long the present system of excluding foreigners from the northern ports of China, and from the interior of the country will continue; and what are to be the results of the recent voyages along the coast; are questions which will frequently recur to those who are interested in the affairs of ‘the celestial empire.’ Without attempting to give an answer to either of these inquiries, we will advert to a few facts which will serve to exhibit the policy of the Chinese government since Europeans first visited the coast of this country in 1516.

For more than a century past, almost the whole of the European trade has been restricted to Canton and Macao. But it was not always so. At different times during the reign of the Ming dynasty, the ports of Ningpo and Chusan in Che-keang, and the port of Amoy in Fuhkeen, were opened to Europeans, and became large marts for their commerce. Kang-he in the twenty-third year of his reign opened all the ports of his empire, and allowed a *free trade* to his own subjects and to all foreign nations. This regulation continued in force for about thirty years. But at length it was argued against this regulation, that foreigners and adventurous Chinese who were living abroad would impoverish the country by exporting large quantities of rice! For this, or some other reasons equally cogent, foreign trade was restricted; the emigration of natives and the ingress of foreigners, were prohibited; and, if we mistake not, the building of vessels on the European model was likewise interdicted.

In the 5th year of Yung-ching, a change occurred; the population of Fuhkeen had become so dense that supplies from abroad were greatly needed; the people of the province therefore were allowed “to trade to the nations of the south bordering on the China sea;” the same privilege was extended to the province of Canton, “which is a narrow territory with a numerous population!” Regulations of a similar kind were made for Shantung, and other provinces on the sea-coast. It appears moreover that in some instances ‘honorary buttons and military titles’ have been conferred on the owners of junks for bringing cargoes of rice from Siam.—[See, “Abstract of the general laws of China;” which is appended to the Report of the Anglochinese College for the year 1829.]

FREE TRADE.—In connection with the preceding statements it will be in place to notice here a decree of his present Majesty, who has recently declared—‘that the trade of the Boorials on the frontiers of Cashgar shall be free from all imposts whatsoever.’ They are allowed to bring their horses, sheep, &c. &c., for sale, without paying any duty or tax to the Chinese government.

CHRISTIAN BOOKS IN CHINA.—In further confirmation of the importance of the press in China, we insert the following letter from a gentleman,* who, going on a trading voyage, kindly offered to take a box of christian books. It contained, we believe, copies of the New Testament, prayer books and tracts.

“To——; Dear Sir, I beg the favor you will inform——, that I distributed the box of books in the Chinese character given to me by you, all along the great province of Fuhkeen, beginning at Hou-tu-san, and ending at Fu-chu-fu, including Amoy and seven Chu-fus. These books were every where received with thanks, and in many places sought after with avidity. My rule of distribution was, never to give to any individual who did not first prove to me that he could read and write. It may be worthy of——’s attention in future, that where a complete set can be given, the favor seems much greater.”

I remain, &c.

We should be very glad to see a Book Society for China—a society for the promotion of useful secular knowledge, as well as a society for the promotion of christian knowledge. We believe they would not hinder but aid each other. The greatest difficulty consists in getting a competent supply of good writers and translators. Bible and Tract Societies do not, so far as we know, afford any support to those who translate and write for them; and Missionary Societies generally prefer preaching to writing; or if they encourage their missionaries to write, they wish it to be on subjects strictly religious. With this we do not find fault; but only state the fact, to show that there is still room for a *Chinese Book Society*, of a more general character than any thing that yet exists. To supply the youths of China and the surrounding nations with books which are both interesting and useful is a mighty object. We sincerely desire that it may soon be attained.

Christians by birth, and christians by conversion.—Wherever modern missionaries have gone, there has usually been an hostility between these two classes; it has existed in India, and it exists in the south seas. As long as the natives were pagans, there seemed a sort of good fellowship; but as soon as they professed christianity, that ceased. And missionaries are

* This gentleman was not a missionary.

accused of sowing the seeds of strife. The christians-born, say that they have made the natives worse. But the other statement is, that the natives can now better appreciate their rights as men, and the real character of their foreign visitors. They are no longer such easy dupes to their cupidity and irregular passions. Hence arises the contrariety. To defend their own cause the christians-born say, the new made christians are hypocrites; that they yield to temptation and bribery from the foreign christians.

That all the heathen converts are really what they profess, we do not suppose; and besides, there are now even in the south seas those who, like their foreign visitors, are merely christians-born, and have no more of christianity than the name. And no doubt, knowledge is power; power for evil, as well as for good. Hence the station and influence and learning of many nominal christians, are all employed against the very precepts and principles of that holy religion by which they are called. But are all christians-born therefore hypocrites? Are all the ministers of religion a bad set? Where is the christian conduct of those foreigners who tempt the natives to vice?

In connection with this subject, we cannot but exhort the missionaries at the islands, to be careful to practice that "godly discipline" which was in the primitive church, and 'disown' those who walk not according to the principles and precepts of the gospel. We believe they have no idea of forming what is called a "national church,"—a church that claims as its own all persons born in the land,—a practice of religious men, which though ancient, is in our opinion destructive to the peculiar character and purity of the church of Christ; which should be a society of faithful disciples, from which, of course the faithless and unfaithful should be excluded. The union of the church to the world has done immense injury to both.

Chinese School at Naples.—The Biblical Repository for April 1832, published at New-York, contains an account of 'theological education in Italy,' which was written by Prof. Tholuck of Halle. Among other institutions the writer describes the "Propaganda Fide," which was founded in 1622, and consists of several distinct departments; one of which was intended expressly for youths from China and Japan. "But as it was found that the converts from these countries could not bear the climate of Rome, the establishment for them was transferred to Naples." It is thus described;—

"This missionary school was first established by a priest, Matteo de Baroni Ripa, in 1692, under the title; "Congregazione collegio e seminario della sacra famiglia di Gesu Christo;" and was afterwards enlarged by various benefactors, especially by Charles III and pope Benedict XIV. This congregation is composed of Neapolitan clergy, who, besides the

usual exercises of a cloister, devote themselves to the education of young Chinese, east Indians, and other orientals, and *especially* also Greeks, in order to train them up as missionaries to those countries respectively. The *procurator* of the 'Propaganda Fide' in Macao, who is at the head of the Romish missionary establishment there, first receives the young Chinese from the missionaries who reside in the different provinces of the 'celestial empire,' in order to make trial of their capacities and of their call to a missionary life. For this purpose they spend two or three months in a convent at Macao. They must too be descendants of Chinese catholic christians, and must have received permission from their parents or guardians to go to Europe.

"If now these young persons are found qualified, the procurator sends them, at the cost of the Neapolitan congregation, to Naples. Here the young Chinese first of all learn Latin,* from an older Chinese; and at the same time, Italian. After this, they begin, in the first year, their course of studies with rhetoric and philosophy, under a clerical instructor of the congregation; in the following years they pursue theological studies. Then follows an examination, either in the Propaganda at Rome, or by the archbishop of Naples. Their vows are six,—chastity, poverty, obedience, the priesthood, constant activity in the service of the Propaganda, and perseverance in the missionary life until death. In China, every missionary receives from the Propaganda a yearly support of eighty ducats; the ducat being equal to about eighty cents. The mission house in Naples is distinguished for neatness and an appearance of comfort; there are in it at present (1831), nine Chinese and four Greeks. Among the three or four instructors, are some men of very pleasing manners; but they seem not to be penetrated with ardent zeal, either for the cause of science or for the spread of the gospel."

LITERARY EXAMINATIONS.—One of the themes from the *Four Books*, proposed in Nanhae district for the present examinations is, "Fanche asked in what benevolence consisted. Confucius replied, to love men. He next asked, what constituted knowledge. The Sage replied, to know men." (See Collie's *Confucius*, page 56, section 21.)

It is added, that Fanche did not comprehend this; and Confucius added, elevate the upright and dismiss the depraved; thus you will make the depraved upright. Fanche departed,

* Walking along one of the streets in the suburbs of Canton, a few days ago, we were accosted by a young Chinese *latinist*. He said that he had studied eight years at the College of St. Joseph in Macao; his knowledge of the Latin tongue, however, seemed to be very limited, and his pronunciation was entirely Chinese. He was ignorant of the mandarin, but spoke the Canton dialect well, and said that his family lived in the suburbs of the city.

and waited on Tsze-hea to whom he said;—I had just now an interview with Confucius, and when I asked him what knowledge consisted in, he replied, ‘elevate the upright, and dismiss the depraved, thus you will make the depraved upright.’ What does he mean? Tsze-hea replied,—rich are his words! When Shun was emperor, he selected and elevated Kaou-yaou from among the multitude, and the vicious retired to a distance: when Tang was emperor, he selected and elevated E-yin from the multitude, and the vicious removed afar.

This passage is much extolled by the Chinese seholiasts; who laud equally the sage and the scholar. Confucius gave a short and rather ambiguous answer in order to draw forth more inquiry; and Fanehe had sense enough to go to a fellow student and request his opinion. They suspect he was at a loss to see how knowledge and benevolence could unite; for the more you know of men very often, the less reason you will have to like them. But they consider that Confucius has completely solved the difficulty. Use, said he, your knowledge of human nature, ye rulers, to diseriminate the upright from the depraved, and give office only to the good. Here is knowledge in operation. Thus the depraved will disappear, as if they removed to a distance, for they will be reformed; thus, one of the greatest acts of benevolence, the reformation of the vicious, will be effected; knowledge and benevolence be reconciled! Herein do the “riches,” the fullness and comprehensiveness of the sage’s words appear!

A PROCLAMATION BY CHOO, THE LIEUT. GOVERNOR OF CANTON.

The officer whom we thus designate, is second in authority in the province, and is by right, a member of the governor’s council. In Chinese he is called seun-foo; also foo-yuen, and foo-tae. The word *seun* means to patrol; to cruise about. The revenue cutters, and police enrollers are designated by this word joined to *chuen*, a ‘ship’ or ‘boat;’ and the European men of war are usually denoted by the same phrase. *Foo* means to lay the hand on and soothe; to keep still and quiet.—It is in this capacity that the magnate Choo issues the following admonitory commands. We consider the proclamation as rather a curious document, containing much that is good, but on the whole very defective in principle, and in moral sanctions.—The original document, which is designed to be pasted up against the wall, is four feet high and five feet broad. Every character or word is about an inch square.

We admire the principle that governments should educate, as well as punish. To promote moral and religious education is no doubt a primary duty of governments. Some of the useful knowledge societies appear to us to err, by giving such *undue* prominence to intellectual, as almost to neglect moral education.

We much approve too of the *soother's* closing thought, that governmental love to the people is not at all so productive of good as the people's loving themselves—which is a counterpart of the adage, ‘that self-government is the best form of government.’

The *Shin-sze* (Morrison's Dict. 9266), rendered in the translation, ‘the learned gentry,’ are people who have obtained some literary degree, which however can be bought with money, as well as obtained by reading books, although all profess to be *tuh-shoo jin*, ‘book-reading men.’—They are generally a proud, supercilious class, and not seldom very ignorant. They may be called “the infidel priesthood” of China. And never were there any priests more ambitious or aspiring than they are. They claim precedence of every body. They alone can serve his majesty in all civil offices. They alone can be judges and magistrates. And as for their learning, it consists solely in a grammar-school education. The politico-puerile ethics of Confucius constitute their bible, to deviate from which in the least degree is heresy. These learned gentlemen, generally teach that men have no souls; that death is annihilation; and by a very just inference, that there are no rewards or punishments beyond the grave. This they say is the orthodox faith, to which every good Chinaman must assent. Any belief beyond this unbelief, is denominated *e-twan*; *seay-keau*, —heterodox principles; depraved doctrines, &c. Such are the “shepherds” of China.

Concerning such instructors, we do not wonder that the magnate Choo should use the irreverent phrase, “divine vagabonds.” The two words, which in the translation have been so rendered, are *shin*, a god; a spirit; that which is divine; and *kwan*, a sharper; a black-legged swindler; a vagabond. These are not usually priests as we might suppose, but laymen, who have the charge of temples, or are dealers in incense-sticks, divine candles, gilt paper, idols, &c. Idolatry in China is not less expensive than the best endowed church in christendom, and probably much more so. Those who make “silver shrines,” and gods and goddesses, &c. &c., in China must be very averse to the “new sect every where spoken against,” which requires only the homage of the heart; and renders useless the crafts we have enumerated;—but we must let the lieut. governor speak for himself.

“Cnoo, an attendant officer of the military board; a member of the court of universal examiners; an imperial historiographer and censor; patrolling soother of Canton; a guide of military affairs; and controller of the taxes;—

“Hereby issues a proclamation for the purpose of correcting the public morals, and delivering strict admonitory orders. In the art of government, moral instructions and the infliction of

punishments are mutually assisting; but punishments should come after the act; instructions should go before; and that neither should be neglected, has long been decided.

"Two years have elapsed since my arrival at my official station in Canton, and I have observed the multitudinous robberies and thefts therein. Streets and lanes are never tranquil. Daily have I led the local officers to search and seize, so that we have had no strength for any thing else; but the spirit of robbery has not even till now ceased. This has arisen from my defective virtue; the smallness of my ability; and the insufficieney of majesty and mercy in my conduct; I feel ashamed of myself.

"But I consider that luxury and extravagance are the causes of hunger and cold; and from thence robberies and thefts proceed. The learned gentry are at the head of the common people; and to them the villagers look up. If they do not sincerely and faithfully issue educational commands, to cause the public morals to revert to regularity and economy, so that sons and younger brothers may gradually learn to be sincere and respectful, then where is that which has long been considered the best device for a radical reform, and a source-purifying process in a country? Availing myself of this doctrine, I shall select a few of the most important topics and proclaim them perspicuously below. That which I hope is, that all you learned gentry, and old men among the people, will from this time and afterwards make a work of stirring and brushing up your spirits, to become leaders of the people; and to assist and supply that in which I am defective. When there are native vagabonds in a district who oppose what is good, and play with acts of disobedience, I shall order the local magistrate to punish them severely; but still, scribes and police-men must not be allowed to make pretexts and to create disturbance. Oh! alas! Those who will not be concerned about the future, must one day have trouble near at hand. This, I the lieut. governor distinctly perceive is the source of nefarious conduct. My mind is full of regret on the subject; and I will not be afraid to iterate instructions and issue my commandments for the sake of the land. Ye learned gentry, and presbyters of the people, respectfully listen to my words. Despise not. A special proclamation.

"First. Exhortations and persuasions ought to be extensively diffused.

"The national family has appointed officers, from provincial governors and lieut. governors down to district magistrates, who hold the station of guides and shepherds; and whose duty it is equally to renovate and to lead the people. Although sons and younger brothers may be deficient in respect, it is because fathers and elder brothers have not previously taught them. And how can the learned gentry in villages, and hamlets, lanes and neighborhoods, shut their eyes and view such occurrences

as not concerning themselves? The teaching of the magistrate is interrupted by his being sometimes present and sometimes absent. The teaching of the learned gentleman is continuous by his constant presence. Here he was born; and here he grew up. He is perfectly acquainted with the public morals—what is beneficial and what is prejudicial. Moreover he knows perfectly the roots of the mulberry which join neighbors' houses, and the altar tree whose shade is common to all. And still more, he feels every pain and pleasure that is felt by any of his clan. To fathers he can speak of tender-heartedness; to sons he can speak of filial piety. He can exhibit his instructions appropriately to every man, and convey them delicately in the slightest conversation. With half a word he can dissipate an intricate feud. It is easy for him to avail himself of his influence and persuade to that which is right.

"Learned gentry should read the useful books of sages and worthies; and for the national family they should be useful men. If to-day they are living in the country, instructors of morals and examples of propriety; another day they will fill official stations, following what is good and obtaining the highest recompense. Being abroad and at home makes a temporary difference, but the incumbent duty in both stations is the same. At home manifesting the principles of good government, is also being in the government.

"I the lieut. governor in patrolling and soothing this region, always toiling hither and thither about public affairs, cannot get time to grasp the hand, and hold conversation with the learned gentry, and be always exhorting and exciting each other; but sometimes when I obtain an interview with you I shall issue my commands, that you may enjoin those commands on other gentry, that every one may instruct his own neighborhood; and all correct their own kindred. Then one village will exhibit beautiful morals. By union, scores of villages will exhibit the same beautiful morals. Then a whole heen district will, in every house, become the same. Then he who carries a heavy burden will only have to call, and he will be sure to have help, like Tseang-pih of old; and when fording a stream, if in danger, he will only have to cry out and some friend will come to his aid.

"He alone who has no blemish himself, can perfectly mend others. That which I hope is, that the virtuous will take the lead of the vicious. Only the good man will receive entirely the advice given him. None ought on account of talents possessed, to reject those who are not talented. In ancient times, Yen-keun-ping let fall the skreen at Ching-too, and all the men of Shuh were renovated. Ching-tsze-chin himself ploughed at the mouth of the valley, and all the people of Kwan-yew followed his example. When a scholar and good man girds up his loins and walks firmly, he becomes the leader of all the country-side. No doubt when people look up at his gate they

will desist from their contentions; when they hear his name, those who are wrong will feel ashamed. In all you learned gentry I have substantial hopes.

"Secondly. Plainness and economy should be greatly esteemed.

"Since I the soother of the people came to my present office, I have for two years observed and investigated the state of things among the people at Canton. I have looked at their airs, and inquired about their customs. I have secretly indulged intense sorrow, and been filled with extreme regret; and for nothing more than to see useful property thrown away for useless purposes; to see limited strength wasted on projects from which no benefit could accrue. In country places, the lasting occupations of husbandry and mulberry-culture are still attended to with a spirit approaching to simplicity; but in the city of Canton, at Fuh-shan, and at all the places where markets are held and official people live, there is a strife and emulation to exceed in gaiety and extravagance.

"At every anniversary of the birth-day of a god; or when plays are performed at masses for departed shades; or thanksgivings are offered for divine energies exerted in behalf of any one; or grateful processions with prayers are carried round,—all of which are what propriety does not interdict,—but every one wants to boast of great things and to vie with others in expense; one imitates another, and in a worse degree. Some even go to the extreme of erecting lofty and variegated pavilions, and for a great distance raising flowery palaces. Fire trees and silver flowers fill the streets and stop the lanes. Men and women assemble promiscuously, greatly to the detriment of the public manners. The sums expended must be reckoned by thousands and tens of thousands. And in a few days the whole is of no more use than mire or sand, and is thrown away like a child's grass dog (a toy). Moreover a blast may set on fire [the adjoining buildings] and cause a conflagration, which will occasion the resentment of myriads of families. It cannot be that these things emanate from the wishes of the many. They must be led into error by "divine vagabonds" (who make a pretext of serving the gods to serve themselves).

"Consider, the shopmen in a street all live by a little trade; their origin not bigger than a fly's head; their end a mere trifle; and the profits they gain are small. But in a moment it is spent in wind and flame, and thrown away for useless regrets. Heaven's ways hate self sufficiency; demons and gods abominate a *plenum*. To consider such services as prayers, must be followed by divine reprehension. But he who is careful of his useful property and his limited strength, and turns them to his own advantage, can gradually increase the means of supporting himself and family; or, if he employs

them for the good of others, he can lend to those who are in want: such an one, men will assist and the gods protect.

"I the lieut. governor, am in my own person economical and simple, that I may be an example to the people. It is my sincere desire to make my nursing to consist in giving no trouble, and to teach by my own mode of living. This is what you learned gentry and common people all know and all have seen. Hereafter when any anniversary of a god's birth occurs, there is no objection to your going to a temple to suspend lanterns and hang up ornaments; offering sacrifices with abundance and cleanliness.

"But as to the street exhibitions, you must not listen to the divine vagabonds, who make pretexts to collect money, and gather together men and women promiscuously. If such people assemble, the district constables, and street seniors must be responsible. The learned gentry are permitted to proceed summarily, and report them to the local magistrate for punishment; and to pull back again the people from the regions of sterile custom.

"As to all cases of assuming the cap (or toga), marrying wives, or burying parents, with the sacrificial rites attendant thereon, in matters of dress or drinking, whether poor or rich, all should have a tender feeling for commodities; and a tender feeling for subsequent enjoyment [i. e. avoid all waste]. The said learned gentry also should substantiate the wish of me the lieut. governor to correct the people and instruct them in morals, should advise them to substitute plainness for extravagance, and by economy nourish wealth; so that the people of a year of plenty may so hoard that plentiful year's wealth, that the people of a year of scarcity may look up to a year of plenty's accumulations; would not this be beautiful!! Ah! Government's love to the people, is not so good as people's love to themselves! Would the people but love and compassionate their own persons and families, where would be the occasion of their waiting till other persons laid plans for them! And if reciprocally acting they thus formed the "wind," (the fashion) they might go on and become wealthy and never know discomfort.

"Using these topics, I have lucidly and intensely proclaimed them, that all might hear and know, wishing that none will tread in the steps of their former iniquities, but all practice to the utmost good morals.

"Taou-kwang 13th year, 1st moon, 23rd day." (March 14th, A. D. 1833.)

Note. Parts of the above document have been re-echoed by the chief magistrates of the keen districts throughout this province; the force of the original however receives no augment from the inferior officers—the reverse is true. This perhaps the soother anticipated; for another proclamation, we understand, is about to be published by himself and the governor jointly.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

SIAM.—The following communication from Mr. Abeel was written about four months ago, and after his second visit to Bangkok. There is much cause for devout gratitude to God, that the incipient efforts to extend a knowledge of the gospel to the inhabitants of Siam have been in any degree successful. We have watched the progress of that mission with deep solicitude; and our surprise is, that among such a people as the Siamese, there has been so little opposition. The success thus far has fully equalled our expectations. Not five years have elapsed since Messrs. Tomlin and Gutzlaff first reached Bangkok, and were allowed to begin their work. The desire for books has been very great, and has prevailed not only among the Siamese and the Chinese, but among those of other languages also. At times during the progress of their work, they have had equal access to the palace and to the cottage; and have had crowds of visitors, who came for medicines and for books,—“high and low,” says Mr. Abeel, “priest and people, men and women, old and young, natives and foreigners, have thronged our cottage and urged their suit with an eloquence which could scarcely be resist-

ed.” Two of the young princes, and several other persons of distinction, he mentions also, were among their occasional visitors. Such was the state of the mission fifteen months ago; and such it has been described in the preceding pages of this work. But on his *second* visit, which was made during the last summer, he found the aspect of the mission in some degree changed. Referring to this change, Mr. Abeel takes occasion to remark on the *caution* which ought to be used in making reports of the progress of christianity. He says:—

In looking over the pages of the “Repository,” I find much written about Siam, and at the same time the expression of a hope, that the subject may be continued by myself and others. I should be happy, if the state of the infant mission in Siam would allow me to answer, in faithful representation of fact, your most glowing expectations, and even lead to hopes which no past occurrence could justify,—I refer to the hope of a speedy and universal triumph of the gospel over all the forms and follies of their idolatry. But while we know that this event is determined, let us be cautious not to antedate it,—lest the prayers of

christians be restrained, and their energies paralyzed,—lest the taunts of the sceptic become *rational*, and the faith of “the faithful” in our mutual reports be shaken,—lest the great adversary gain an important advantage, and the last (present) state of Siam be worse than the first. Caution would be the less necessary, if the object was merely to square opinions with the cavils of those who would fain credit nothing, which is written about the progress of truth in the present day. This would indeed be a vain attempt. Such minds bear the stamp of derangement, at least of monomania, and no argument can be expected to have effect upon the point of their phrenzy, until the balance of reason is restored. Still caution is necessary; for without it, we injure the cause which we espouse and which we labor to advance.

When the first missionaries visited Siam, many expressions of kindness were shown to them by almost all classes of the community: and had they been permitted to remain, the interest of the nation might have survived the novelty which probably gave it birth, and grown with the growing friendship of the parties. Changes however have taken place, and so many and rapid have they been within this short period, that no one has remained to improve his acquaintance, and divert the interest of it from the missionaries to their work—from the disciple of Jesus to the Savior himself. Though this has been repeatedly attempted, and has not been attempted in vain; yet there has not been opportunity,

either to continue the instructions which have been commenced, or even to see the results of what has been taught.

The character of the Siamese, high and low, is well drawn in Gutzlaff’s journal. Fickleness, insincerity, a determined selfishness, combined with a total ignorance of the most corrective truths and principles, enter into the composition of the people at large. True, the gospel can, and it is a subject of joyful gratitude, the gospel shall transform this very character into a moral symmetry the most lovely; but until this change is witnessed, we can lay but little stress upon the simple professions of those who never sacrifice nor venture any thing for the object of their affections. Whether we are to be tolerated and allowed to proceed in the important work for which alone we visited this country, remains to be tested. As is stated in the journal referred to, every thing is incipient. “The weapons of our warfare” have not even been prepared. “The sword of the Spirit” has not been unsheathed, for “the word of God” is not yet *printed* in their language. It is true that some of the people have been partially taught orally, and by means of the tract distributed last year; but it cannot be said that their strong holds have been fairly assailed. If the stupendous fabric of idolatry in Siam—broad as the whole land, and high as the towering pride of the monarch and his “mighty men”—should fall or even totter, upon the application of a feeble power, it would stand alone in the

history of events through all the ages of the past.

Idolatry has almost every thing to support it in Siam. Their pagodas are the only schools of learning for the males, and he who refuses to become a priest, must remain "ignorant." The king has ever been one of the strictest devotees of Budhism. The prince "whose right it is to reign" is a talapoin. The one who bids fair for the throne, and has ever been the most intimate friend of Europeans, is a great admirer of his brother's sanctity, and consequently of the religion that sanctifies him. Almost all classes, when rice is dear, have the liberty to assume the yellow robe, and take up their quarters in a pagoda. I mention these things, not to discourage the minds of any who may engage in the work, but to prepare them for its better accomplishment. That there will be opposition, there is no question—to what extent we can only conjecture—with what success we all know. It is not the character of a soldier fighting for earthly glory, to shrink back, because he is likely to be opposed: opposition generally proves his stimulus, and instead of mastering, only matures his courage. These difficulties then should be known and calculated upon, since they cannot quench the zeal nor in the least repress the ardor of the true follower of Jesus. If such should be the consequences to any, it is still necessary that the "full cost be counted" by all. It will prove a test of the fitness of the instrument for his work; it will tend to chasten his pride, sim-

plify his motives, teach him his own weakness, and direct his soul in humble importunate prayer (his most powerful weapon) to Him who is able and has determined to convert the heathen. —

Upon my arrival in the country, the captain of the junk—of an officious, or perhaps more strictly a fearful spirit,—informed the king that I had returned with a good supply of books; (the books were Chinese, whether this was mentioned to the king or not, I cannot say,) upon which his majesty saw fit to issue a royal veto against their distribution: the king said, if our object was to change religions, we were welcome to attempt it in other countries, but not in his. Whether there had been a previous concert between the priests and his majesty, or whether it was a mere momentary whim or fear of the latter, I cannot determine. Other circumstances led me to conjecture that the former was the case; that the priests had become somewhat alarmed at the distribution of the tract, and the natural tendency of its contents, and availed themselves of their interest with the king to retain their official advantages, by preventing the diffusion of anti-pagan doctrines.

My particular object in hastening from Singapore before my health was established, was to supply the Chinese junks trading to Siam, with Christian books; and through the kind interposition of the Lord, it was conceded by the king's officers, that that business did not come within the royal interdict. That I would limit myself to this task,

I neither promised nor intended; so that when the junks were supplied to the number of fifty, the king, I hope, really—and I practically—forgot the prohibition. As the conversion of China is of all others the most important in the list of missionary objects, it may not be improper to repeat, what has been frequently mentioned, that no foreign country presents so many advantages for this undertaking as Siam. During the present year, about 80 junks visited the place; 30 had sailed before we arrived; among the remaining 50, the books were generally well received, and there is every reason to believe were carried to China.

As you perceive from previous journals, the medical dispensary

attracts numbers from different quarters. It is peculiarly adapted to Siam, both in charity to their dying bodies, and as one of the best means, I mean remotely, of saving their souls.

The circumstance which I regarded as most favorable, during my last visit, was the increasing numbers upon our Sabbath exercises. It seldom exceeded twenty; but this was many more than ever attended before;—and I believe by the exercise of a little wisdom, the number might be almost indefinitely increased.—Of these a few, *very few*, manifested a considerable change in their character—having renounced their idols, and evinced considerable eagerness and self-denial in their search after the truth.

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE HOLY BIBLE IN CHINESE. A second edition of the Bible has recently been published at the Anglochinese college, Malacca; it is a large and beautiful octavo in 21 volumes, and has been printed with new blocks. Had the college been the means of accomplishing nothing more than the publication of this and a former edition of the Bible, we should think its founder and contributors abundantly repaid for all their labors. But we know from good authority, that many of the students, who have been educated in the col-

lege, are now filling respectable stations, civil or commercial, in the Straits; and that some of them are teaching the English language in Pegu and Cochin-China. And above all, we rejoice to know that some have there received the gospel in the love of it; obey its precepts; enjoy its consolations; and assist, even in China itself, in diffusing a knowledge of its righteous requisitions and its glorious promises.

THE ASIATIC JOURNAL.—The numbers of this work for last

Sept. and Oct., contain "an historical sketch of the reign of the emperor Kheen-lung;—from Chinese and other authorities." "The honorary name of Kheen-lung" is given "in Mandshoo," and translated, 'assisted by heaven.' This is very feeble; keen denotes *heaven*; *celestial*; and *lung*, *prosperous*; *glorious*. The sketch details a series of insurrections, wars, and executions of generals, which exhibit the monarch as a vigorous, but cruel man.

The October number contains a brief memoir of the late T. P. Abel-Remusat, well known as one of the best Chinese scholars in Europe. He has left three unfinished works; the last of which is a great desideratum, *viz.* "A natural history of the eastern countries of Asia,"—that is, China, Japan, and Tartary. "Chinese dictionaries, both native and foreign, seldom designate plants, minerals, and

animals by any thing else than vague terms." A work like that which Remusat contemplated by the aid of Cuvier and others, is greatly needed—but Remusat and Cuvier are both dead!

The Nouveau Journal Asiatique for last July and August has a long "Notice de l'Encyclopedie litteraire de Matouan lin,"—par M. Klaproth. And from Paris also has been issued a Chinese play, called Hoci-lan-ki,—par M. Julien, who, we understand, has been appointed to succeed the late Abel-Remusat in the professorship of Chinese. This translation was printed by the English oriental translation Fund. M. Julien has attended to the poetry of Chinese, and purposes to continue the study of it, with the design of compiling a *poetical dictionary*. We heartily wish him success in his work.

JOURNAL OF OCCURRENCES.

THE HIGHLAND REBELLION; or Leen-chow mountaineers.—From the Peiping gazette of October 28th 1832, we perceive that five persons, the kindred of Chaou, the Golden Dragon, have been sentenced to immediate death by the slow and ignominious process of 'cutting to pieces.' Their names were Chaonfuhkin, Chaoufuhinyin, Chaoukinwang, Letihning (who was declared king by the insurgents), and Tangtingting, of whom we do not remember to have read any thing. The imperial sentence directed that their heads should be carried about among the multitude, and a Tartar of high rank was

ordered to go and witness the execution.

We have before us a paper which was written by a scholar, and which represents the submission of the mountaineers to be a mere farce; and the conduct of He-ngan,—the emperor's brother in law, who was one of the imperial commissioners on the occasion,—a gross imposition on his Majesty, and a disgrace to the nation. The writer expresses great indignation against, and contempt for the high authorities, who by bribery induced the highlanders to allow his Majesty's troops the empty forms of victory and triumph, where there was none of the

reality. We are surprised that any Chinese should choose to risk his personal safety by writing such a seditious paper, merely to give vent to his feelings,—for that is the only object which he seems to have had in view.

Speaking of the money of the government,—which, he says, is procured by the toil and sweat of the people, and is the very marrow of their bones,—he adds; the commissioner gave *five hundred thousand taels* weight, (for that was the sum given in silver,) for a sham surrender and submission of the rebels, and a *flourish of drums!* He wonders at the commissioner's audacity and utter want of shame, which prevented his blushing when he received the rewards of victory, finger rings, peacock's feathers, &c. He affects however respect for his majesty, whose displeasure he calls "heaven's anger;" and deeply regrets that the emperor has been so imposed on, in a matter originated by these despicable and detested highlanders. It has been recently reported, that already they descend to the plains in parties to plunder as before, and that local officers refuse to acknowledge the fact. The 500,000 taels given to bring over a few, who were constituted Chinese officers and received commissions with the cap knob insignia, is represented as thrown away; for the hill-men will not submit to their new made officers, and have forced them to resign their commissions and return their knobs.

Private rumors state that old Sun-kun, Lord Macartney's friend, has impeached He-ngan for deceiving the emperor, for usurping all power at court in the distribution of office throughout the empire, for taking his daughter home at midnight from the imperial palace, &c.

FORMOSA.—The sudden declaration of the government that tranquillity is restored on this island, is no less surprising than the hasty submission of the mountaineers of Leenchow. A very short time ago, two Tartar generals were despatched post-haste from Peking, taking with them thirty veteran officers, and possessing power to bring experienced troops from various provinces, even so far as Sze-chuen—on the opposite side of the empire. Now all at once the troops

are countermanded, and the rebellion on Formosa suppressed! Whether there has been a change of counsels at court; or the imperial arms have really been victorious; or the leaders of the insurrection have quarrelled among themselves and yielded to their common enemy; or whether like the Leenchow highlanders they have been bribed to hold a truce and deliver up a few unhappy associates to be slaughtered, remains uncertain.

GOVERNOR LE.—Extracts from the Peking gazette of February 15th 1833, contain the final decision concerning our late governor, magnate Le, and confirm the account given in our last number. He has been compelled to pay from his accumulations a sum equal to three-tenths of the expenses of the highland war. But his majesty says this punishment is not enough to cover his crimes, of mismanagement; procrastination; specious but untrue representations; and the indulgence of the Canton military in opium, by which their strength was destroyed. He is therefore transported to Oroumtsi in western Tartary to exert himself and atone for his offenses. It is supposed he will be restored in a year or two.

A poor native, who was standing by while we read these "extracts" concerning governor Le, said, "Ah! in our country, it is a bad case—he that can give money, may exert himself meritoriously; he who has none, all his exertions are in vain." This seems verified in the present instance; for general Lew who acted under governor Le, for the same offenses as were alledged against his superior, is condemned, though upwards of seventy years of age, to transportation to, and hard labor at Ele, without any hope being held out that his sufferings will be considered an atonement. In China, it is the law that old men may pay a pecuniary fine as an "atonement," (the gazette uses this same word in the decision against governor Le,) but the sentence expressly forbids any being accepted in the case of general Lew. Indulging his troops in opium, and a precipitate ill-judged attack at five passes, in all of which he was repulsed with great slaughter, are the crimes alledged against him.

It is remarkable that during Le's trial, our present governor wrote up

to the emperor, that of late, his predecessor had written frequently to the king of Cochinchina about pirates, &c., which intercourse Le had not laid before his Majesty. This was brought against Le as an additional offense; inasmuch as all intercourse with foreign states is deemed of the highest importance at the imperial court.

ABDALLAH, a captive.—The 124th No. of the Peking gazette contains an article in reference to the descendants of "Khodzijan," the Mohammedan rebel against Keenlung, mentioned in page 52 of the Asiatic Journal for September 1832. When the two princes Boolatoo and Khodzijan were defeated and perished, many of their kindred, according to the barbarous usage of Asiatic conquerors, were put to death; this was in 1759. The gazette before us notices that there was an infant son, who could have no knowledge of, nor take any part, in his father's rebellion. His life was spared and he was given to be a slave to an officer of merit who was engaged in the war. His name was *Apotoohale* (Abdallah? "the slave or servant of God"). During the third year of the present reign, Abdallah having conducted himself in a quiet inoffensive manner, was, according to the law respecting Mohammedans, with all his family permitted to enter the white 'standard' of Mungkoo's, and to be employed in the service of government.

Only three years after this, the rebellion of Chang-kihur broke out at Cashgar, and Abdallah and his family, (for he was *related* to Chankihur,) were again implicated, though they

were perfectly innocent of any connection with the rebel. He and his children were separated and sent, some to Yunnan province, some to Canton, to Kwangse, to Fulkeen, &c.,—to be imprisoned *for ever*, in solitary cells. The female part of the family were sent to Keangnan, Hangchow, &c., to be slaves. In this state they remained the last six years. Abdallah and Pihpakih (a son we suppose) died in the mean time. Changkihur having perished, and these helpless prisoners and slaves having "behaved quietly," his Majesty in order to imitate the clemency of his grandfather, and exhibit his own "mercy beyond the law," has decreed that Abdallah's coffin be permitted to enter Peking for interment, and his family, male and female, be restored to the Mungkoo standard.

ANONYMOUS ACCUSATIONS.—A case of this kind has occurred in Peking, which has drawn forth a long memorial from one of the Yu-she. Somebody threw into a stable an anonymous impeachment of several officers in one of the supreme courts. The rule of proceeding in such cases, requires that the document shall be immediately destroyed by the finder. He who wrote, and he who attempts to act upon it are both liable to punishment. In the present case the libel came to the knowledge of the emperor, and he wished the allegations, which were rather of a serious nature, to be examined into. His censor remonstrates and wishes the law to be adhered to, because of the evil effects that must arise from opening a door to malicious selfishness by a contrary procedure.



Postscript.—Early in the present month it was announced in Canton, that the rebellion on the island of Formosa was at an end, and that the orders for more troops had been countermanded; but no account was given of the manner in which peace had been obtained.

Fulkeen junks, which have recently arrived at Macao, bring reports that the insurgents, 200,000 strong, are in possession of Lub-urh-mun, and that the governor of Fulkeen and other officers are at Keih-tsze-lan endeavoring to *subdue* the rebels by offers of money and of office; and this system (the same that was finally adopted at Leenchow,) has, it is said, been partially successful.



